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GREATER
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ESSAY

BY

E. J. DAVID

SAN FRANCISCO :

M. V. LACAZE, Print., 729 Montgomery Street

1903.

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PREFACE

This is a mere Essay,—**multum in parvo**.

In this work, the Author, a plain citizen, simply exposes in a business-like fashion, his views on some of the opportunities of our country as a nation.

S. F., January, 1903.

CHAPTER I.

THE YANKEE.

If you go through the world, in foreign lands: England, France, Italy, Germany, Spain, Austria, Russia, in old Europe; in Persia, India, Siam, China, in thick-set Asia; Algeria, Egypt, Senegal, Cape Colony, in dark Africa; in Australia; in South America; from the North to the South Pole, ask to any native of these foreign countries what is a Yankee? Readily he will reply that he is the citizen of the United States of America. For him the name itself means more: it is synonymous with liberty, honesty, ability, liberality, individuality, audacity in conception, skill in mechanics and in invention. The magic success of the Spanish war made the name known in the smallest hamlet in foreign lands.

A new name has been forged to serve other interests than ours, rather than to meet new idea, but in my mind of business man I plainly understand that an Englishman is an Englishman, a German is a German, a Russian is a Russian, an American is an American, by birth or adoption, by interest and by sentiment, and will remain so; that only things and animals belong to the whole world because they have no human soul and anybody can buy it. Passion and imagination, indispensable to poets and writers, have

very little to do in financial, commercial, industrial, political and scientific matters.

I may be pardoned if on such a delicate theme as the general character of the American citizen and the general character of his social system I desire express my own opinion in a few words. Too many of the foreign writers who come over the ocean to study America once back in their respective countries generally give out in their memoranda of the United States the impressions received from late debarqued immigrants, far from to be half americanized. They think themselves so learned and so important that in a few months, in a few weeks, even in a few days they know the United States from bottom up, from East to West and from South to North. When it takes many years of hard work and study to master any science, yet, those contemptuous fellows think, in their infallibility, that a look at the stars is enough to know astronomy and her allied sciences; so it is with the United States although more difficult to penetrate deeply than any abstract science. It is quite a difficult thing to appreciate itself with impartiality, but travels and long years spent abroad may have tempered that partiality by being able to compare foreign countries to my own, not on mere superficialities but by deep and actual experience.

The true American citizen is by nature brave, honest, amiable, hospitable, patriotic, energetic and intelligent; he is practical and yet idealistic and enthusiastic. Cultivation and refinement make him a gentleman equal, if not superior, to the gentry of the

best educated classes of Old Europe for manners and behavior. An educated American is the best and most generous of friends.

The American is not greedy for money; if he were he would not give away his wealth with such a prodigal hand, and would not throw aside the European low schemes of money-making by the pursuit of dowries. It is the desire to make use of his vast energies; to show the ability of the individual. He knows that money is concrete power; that it commands learning, skill, experience, wisdom, talent, influence, numbers; that it is the great endeavor, the great spring of power; that financial success is the measurement of ability and intelligence.

The American citizen is the representative of civil liberty and individualism. His unequaled energy, his indomitable perseverance and his personal independence made him a pioneer. He deeply trusts that his country is called to the highest destiny for the benefit of humankind.

In the years of undisturbed peace the United States have undergone gigantic changes. They have grown rich; they have changed from an agricultural country into an industrial country. The standard of life has been raised with an undreamed of rapidity. The horizon has been widened; the ever-expanding industry has pushed trade over the oceans; a colonial system has been set up and all has had one effect in common: the confirmation of the democratic spirit in the noblest meaning in the world.

The raising of the social level of the business man,

the merchant and the industrial man is certainly one of the most prominent features. The power which the great representatives of industry and commerce and banking have to-day in the Union could not have been dreamed thirty years ago. The steady raising of the practical professions, that of the engineer and the scientist and the literator in comparison with the trade professions is to be noted. The number of men who unselfishly and with high ideals serve the community in a thousand forms is increasing every day. The wave of American **beaux-arts and belles-lettres** is steadily swelling.

The intellectual and esthetic interests of the masses have grown with the higher standard of the whole population. The public libraries, the reading of papers, the formation of clubs and societies, discussions and lectures reach the widest circles. Meanwhile wealthy men, in a growing measure, devote whole and sometimes stupendous fortunes to public benefits. Other important features are the new enthusiasm for the sea, for naval affairs, for foreign lands beyond the ocean, a widening of horizon which necessarily reinforces the spirit of independence and individual activity. Add the immense development of science, of industry, of commercial pursuits, of transportation, of means of communication, all democratic factors that put men on an equal footing and bring progress within the reach of everyone.

It is justly claimed that the European civilization is older than ours, but it does not prove that her civilization is nowadays better than ours. Impeded in

Europe by powerful destructive defects, of which the militarism is the principal, the higher civilization has already crossed the ocean; it is us now who are leading in the higher civilization since it means freer and better men. The contributions of America to civilization are numerous, as: the diffusion of education, the widest religious toleration, the successful development of universal suffrage, the safety of property, the love for the Government, the efficient working and honesty of the Administration, the wide diffusion of property and well-being, the unparalleled progressiveness of the democratic nation; and, the most eminent contribution which the United States has made to civilization is the advance made, in America, toward the abandonment of war as a means of settling disputes between nations, the substitution of discussion and arbitration.

No other country can show a similar achievement which deserves the respect and admiration of the world; for a young country she has, since her birth, behaved as no country in the world has behaved as far back as history can go, and the past warrants a brilliant future. To hold the helm of the ship of government, God gave us men with great hearts, strong minds, true faith, high character and utmost abilities.

If we take a survey of mankind in ancient and modern times, as regards the physical, mechanical and intellectual force of nations, we find nothing to compare with the United States. It is not strange that this amazing energy, applied to resources which are perhaps unequalled, has made us the richest nation in

the world. Still to-day the creation of wealth goes at a much greater rate than ever before.

Americans are an exceptionally inventive people. Yankee ingenuity and skill are proverbial. Scientific discoveries are apt to find their earliest practical application in their country. We have the best tools, with the most scientific and ingenious machinery, with the most alert and intelligent workmen, it becomes possible for us to pay higher wages and yet enjoy the advantage of the lower labor cost. Our trade, like our manufactures and politics have already assumed world's proportions.

Europeans have been accustomed to think of the United States as the world's great granary; to be aroused to the fact that it has become also the world's great workshop administers a hard shock to our powerful competitors across the ocean.

It is a remarkable fact that all the fundamental elements of superiority in industrial production are all in our favor. It is probable, therefore, that our manufacturing supremacy is to be permanent. These conditions are: the coal and coal oil, which are concrete power of first magnitude in this industrial age, are cheaper here than anywhere else and their supply practically inexhaustible; the iron, which is the complement of coal, exists in deposits in almost all the States, in quality and quantity equal to any deposits in the world. Now we are raising more coal and produce more iron and steel than any other country in the world, more than England herself. The extensive use of machinery which lower labor cost; the great skill of

our mechanics and alertness and intelligence of our workingmen, though getting high wages, more than compensate the cheap and unskilled labor of foreigners. Cheap raw and great variety of materials and easy access to markets. The effective and extensive organization of business for economizing all productive and distributive forces. The modern system of large-scale manufacturing. Our statesmen, our financiers, our industrials, our commercants and our inventors are keen and intelligent, audacious and energetic; they participate to the giant size of the country. With our natural advantages fully realized what is to prevent the United States from becoming the mighty workshop of the world and to remain so.

Many other causes co-operate to produce the most forceful and tremendous energy of the world. After conquering the home market we invaded successfully the open markets of the world; now we are competing with remarkable success the own highly protected home markets of the great manufacturing people of Europe where the sharpest competition exists. The real struggle, we know well, is in old European markets because there are the greatest and richest agglomerations of people on earth, the best and ready customers with plenty of money. The South American markets come next in importance. The Asiatic and African markets are considered as reserve markets as they are almost completely undeveloped on the commercial and industrial lines.

From high success in industrial and commercial fields to success in financial field there is only one

step. Ere long the United States are to become the greatest money market of the world. Our financiers and bankers rival for spirit of enterprise our manufacturers and traders.

Last year the excess of our exports over imports was far from over half billion dollars, and we are now rapidly extending in the markets of the world. This excess of exports is a matter of congratulation, because not only it furnishes the undeniable evidence of industrial strength and prosperity of the country, but, too, because it furnishes the means for keeping the country well supplied with the gold needed as a part and basis of our currency and a ready means of settling our indebtedness abroad.

We have labored hard to attain that aim; it is natural and reasonable that our success be generously recognized by our competitors. We have been and we are still a good customer for the European people.

While our manufactures are growing, our markets are to be greatly extended. To remediate the precariousness of the foreign markets subject to be closed to our manufactures at any time by hostile legislation and prohibitive tariff, we must strive to expand our spheres of interest and to instill into our people the necessity to become a great sea power. It is wise to do things to keep the general business good and give employment to all our workingmen with fair wages. Our ever-increasing production will render an ever-increasing foreign market necessary to our social health. Expansion is a natural law; it is impossible

for us to stand still, a nation must go forward or backward.

The multiplication of machinery has wonderfully multiplied the number and improved the quality of the comforts. The bright star of progress brings its problems, which must find their solution in more progress. The older nations have aroused themselves for the international race for the markets of the world. This is a commercial age; those who do not participate in its spirit are pushed aside to be subjugated and to die in want and poverty.

Abundant reasons exist for believing that, in spite of many a hard fight to put up, we will ultimately win the leadership of the world and the first place among the nations. There are more opportunities now than ever for us. To reach surely the goal let us never forget, of one of the most energetic and successful Roman, the favorite saying: "**Laboremus**".

CHAPTER II.

GREATER UNITED STATES of North America.

Right doing must always be preceded by right thinking, for to think right is the main road to success in the life of a man as well as that of a nation. In this age of keen rivalry among powerful nations for mastery of the world's markets, the doctrine of evolution and the rule of the survival of the fittest are as inexorable in their operation as they are positive in the results they bring about. The place won by an industrial people can only be held by unrelaxed endeavor and constant advance in achievement. The present extraordinary extension in every line of American exportations and the unparalleled increase of our national wealth is to be attributed to the large material endowments of nature, to the constitutional vigor and intelligence of the people, with a natural talent for invention and construction, with political freedom and without social caste control, with a good system of education and training of mind and of hand, with general opportunity free to all, with undaunted energy to promote their own rapid elevation over all the civilized world.

The general tendency of modern times is to con-

solidate and to combine. It is an era of successful federation, combination and consolidation as never seen in past centuries. Political and civil bodies as well as industrial, commercial and financial concerns are grouping into large confederations and big corporations. The economic advantages are so great that the consolidation has become an established factor in the life of nations, and will, on all probabilities, extend farther in spite of all obstacles accumulated or thrown on its way. Expansion, whether for nations, associations or individuals is a normal state.

New conditions bring new responsibilities, new possibilities and new necessities. The changes that have taken place in the last years are now seen to shape the future of the nation. Ethical, political, military, commercial and economic reasons will combine to compel the United States to concern itself with the neighboring States. The forces of nature are all working in the direction of unity and homogeneity; and though the ultimate object may be postponed, in the end nature will have her way. The time is most favorable; our foreign relations are amicable; our unexampled prosperity and happiness are a good enticement; our finances are well-ordered and satisfactory; the industry and commerce are flourishing in the interior and extending over the oceans; we can turn our eyes outside for peaceful and secure development and tranquilly determine our policy upon the questions that interest us and inquire seriously whether we ought not to advance farther the policy of peaceful commercial and political expansion. It is the duty of

the statesman to anticipate the future. We have to sow before we can reap any benefit.

One circumstance that strikes all who visit Mexico and the Central American Republics is the steady growth of social, commercial, industrial and financial relations between the people laying to the North and South of an imaginary boundary line. Men cross over to the adjoining States in search of employment, fields of investment, and homes. There are in business thousands of mercantile, industrial, agricultural citizens of the United States with their roots in the soil, intermarrying and giving in intermarriage all year round. What more natural that they should draw closer relations. Our concern is not for territory or empire, but for the people whose interests and destiny are similar to ours. That the inhabitants of these Republics will be benefitted by the association is my strong belief, and we will aid in every possible way to benefit these people. In all the Central American Republics most of the political men, business men, traders, real estate owners, lawyers and others strongly express their conviction that closer association with the United States will enormously benefit their countries.

Said President McKinley, in a message to Congress: "It is sometimes hard to determine what is best to do, and the best thing to do is oftentimes the hardest. The prophet of evil would do nothing because he flinches at sacrifice and effort, and to do nothing is easiest and involves the least cost. On those who have things to do there rests a responsibility which is not on those who have no obligations as doers. If the

doubters were in majority there would, it is true, be no labor, no sacrifice, no anxiety, and no burden raised or carried, no contribution from our ease and purse and comfort to the welfare of others, or even to the extension of our resources. There would be ease, but, also, there would be nothing done."

By association with our Southern neighbors: the Republics of Mexico, of Guatemala, of Honduras, of Salvador, of Nicaragua and of Costa Rica, under the name of "**Greater United States of America**," we may hope to be in position to possess, within ourselves, the largest market in the world coupled with the cheapest and most efficient Government on earth.

Considering the narrow limits fixed for this work, the probable terms and conditions necessary for such consolidation cannot be given herein.

This is not an utopian dream as the next centuries will prove. Good-will, energy, ability and perseverance will make it a reality. Although there is almost no consciousness of the new nationality, yet there is a latent aspiration in our neighboring people, to join their commercial and political existence with us, that need only to be developed and called upon to receive popular answer: "**Vox populi, vox Dei**"; in every case the people will be consulted by referendum. It must come from a cordial assent. If the question once thoroughly developed is fairly put before the people of those Republics, who live by honest industry, by honest trade, by honest agriculture, by honest means, they will take the same view and rejoice at it. It is

all gain for them. The unbounded prosperity we enjoy will be shared by them.

Further, girded, but from the far North, by a mighty sea-wall we shall be exempt from the necessity of keeping great standing armies, thus saving us for centuries to come from the vampire of militarism which curses all the great European Powers. A force sufficient for police duty is all that the Greater United States will require.

The policy is not a bold one, but within our reach as well as to the reach of our intended associated States; and whenever the citizen of Mexico and Central America will join us by commercial and political bonds we will welcome them. Then the mighty citizen of the Consolidated North America, greater than was the Roman citizen in the past centuries, will out-rank any potentate on earth and commands, from any people, more respect than a King.

THE INTEROCEANIC CANAL.

A waterway across the isthmus between the continents of North and South America connecting the Atlantic and Pacific oceans has been the dream of commerce for three centuries. The commercial and political importance of such waterway for the United States cannot be underrated. That isthmian canal will give more advantages to United States than Suez did for England. It will create an immense amount of

new commerce and the United States will command the greater part of it. The large agricultural and manufacturing interests will find in it a most wonderful stimulus. It will give a strong impetus to the building up of our merchant marine and develop the sea power of the Union. In uniting our coast lines and in bringing the most remote portion of our territory into much closer relations it will make the United States still more united and will enhance the advantages we possess to build up the richest and most powerful nation in the world.

Early England recognized the importance and attempted to control the interoceanic communication by way of Lake Nicaragua. One century ago Von Humboldt, who explored Central America, reported: "It is absolutely indispensable for the United States to effect a passage from the Mexican Gulf to the Pacific ocean, and I am certain they will do it." Some years later the United States Congress decreed the cutting of an interoceanic canal through Nicaragua, and a preable examination of the route was ordered.

The British Government claimed the control of the proposed waterway by Nicaragua, which claim was strenuously opposed by our Government. Complications intervened and led to the famous Clayton-Bulwer treaty. This treaty was concluded under the impression that Great Britain would abandon her territorial encroachments upon America, but experience demonstrated that Great Britain had given up practically nothing in the dealing, and that only the evocation of might could induce her to respect any agree-

ment. This treaty raised a storm of disapprobation in the United States and was recently abrogated in its main part so that the canal should be, if constructed, under absolute American control.

Many surveys and estimates for the proposed waterway by Lake Nicaragua were made, either by private Companies or ordered by our Government. One Maritime Canal Company was even organized few years ago with a large capital, but the Congress, upon demand, refused to guarantee the bonds and securities of the Company and it fell. Since then practically nothing was done though some United States Commissions appointed for the purpose to examine most carefully the Nicaragua route have repeatedly reported favorably on the whole question. It is likely that the Nicaragua waterway is not to be built ere long, unless we cannot obtain control of the Panama canal, well known to the Readers.

The patent defects of the Nicaragua interoceanic canal are that it can never be made sea level; it is very long, therefore, take much time to pass across the isthmus; the traffic is limited; the locks, in case of war, may easily be destroyed putting the canal out of order when sorely needed; further, it is somewhat in the sphere of influence of earthquakes. However, the principal objection is the demonstrated feasibility of the Panama canal in the Darien isthmus belonging to Colombia. That waterway, over two-third shorter than the Nicaragua, is half finished, and can be made sea level. Its construction involves gigantic engineering problems, but they are all known and minutiously

calculated. The completion of the Panama route would render competition impossible for the Nicaragua canal, therefore, annihilate the usefulness of this waterway and make its enormous cost a dead loss for the United States.

Negotiations between the Colombian Republic and our Government are still in course for the control and completion of the Panama canal by us.



PERILS AND REMEDIES.

The certainty that an isthmian canal is to be opened up in a few years give a high commercial and strategic values to the Carribean coasts that is thoroughly understood by our powerful competitors across the water, especially England. A characteristic attempt was made by her, under President Cleveland, to grab Venezuelan territory, but was frustrated by the energetic attitude of our Government in the enforcement of the Monroe doctrine.

Great Britain alone cannot move and hurt us much, but quite the contrary; without her support no European Power would dare to provoke us since the swift lesson of the last war. However, recently under color to collect few debts, she skillfully brought Germany and Italy behind her to share in the expected Venezuelan spoils and at same time puts a red-iron test to the Monroe doctrine. The ruthless destruction of

the small Venezuelan Navy and the bombardment of the Venezuela coasts' forts, without provocation, taught us some of the harsh ways of the European Powers in dealing with a weak nation. It is not by destroying the assets of an already poor people that they will facilitate the payment of his debts, quite the contrary.

Whatever may be the outcome of the Venezuelan affair not yet closed, though the matters have been referred to the good office of the International Arbitration of the Hague Tribunal on the strong recommendation of our Government, we shall have to be constantly on watch and stand ready to prevent any infringement upon the Monroe doctrine, which is a doctrine of peace and a doctrine of self-defense. The Monroe doctrine is not aggressive toward any power; his principle is that America must not be treated as a subject for political colonization by any European Power.

Said, President McKinley: "Grave problems come in the life of a nation. The generation upon which they are forced cannot avoid the responsibility of striving for their solution. It is sometimes hard to determine what to do to solve them, but we can make an honest and energetic effort to that end, and if made in conscience, justice and honor, it will not be in vain."

Let us be heedful never to attribute to the British a conciliatory thought they have not and that they cannot have. By the force of the British tradition itself they will be led to oppose us and brew trouble for us everywhere. England never gives up to the simple

evocation of treaties but only that of might. We are already powerful enough to make our just observations and reclamations heard by European Powers. A new war, if inevitable, will not weaken, nor injure us much, but to the contrary, it will strengthen our prominent position among the nations and make us more ambitious and enterprising.

Since the Revolution war, England showed us characteristic hostility. A second war undertaken to subdue us again failed miserably. In the Civil war, President Lincoln's masterful abilities and Secretary Seward's shrewdness barely kept her out of an open declaration of war. After Chancellorsville, Gladstone himself talked with intense satisfaction of the probable break-up of the Union. The published correspondence of that period shows plainly that England had skillfully united almost the whole of Europe against us; so it was in the Spanish war, but failed, as later demonstrated by some curious and instructive published revelations, in which the late British Ambassador, the Hon. Pauncefote, himself, was mixed. The splendid and decisive victory of Dewey at Manila opened, but for a few days, the eyes of the British on the dangerous path they are trodding against us. It is England's highest advantage to remain on thorough friendly terms with us.

We cannot, under any pretense whatever, allow the building of any Gibraltar by the European Powers in the Carribean sea. The seizure and occupation of American soil for military purpose, in violation of the Monroe doctrine, will be opposed by force, because such occupation would entail on us loss of prestige,

weaken our position in the world, and lower us down in the rank of nations. We do not lose view that the machiavellic principles have still great many disciples among the statesmen of across the ocean, as strongly demonstrated by the history of the last half century. The world knows that the last Boer war is only the complement of the Jameson raid.

Whenever any hard case for us is to come up, by Canada and the West Indies, we hold England by the leg; they are our guaranty of her fair dealings with us and of our security. Any strong hostile move against us followed by war, maybe a protracted war, means the break up of her Empire, and on all probabilities her irremediable downfall. Necessity knows no laws. New conditions have to be met with new means. To balance the weight of her recruited help we have only to stretch out the hand to have powerful allies at any time glad to help us to curb the haughtiness of England and stanch her insatiable thirst of grabbing everything everywhere under any pretense. I know that such a compact, in case of necessity, looks an easy matter and would be drawn quickly

Go from East to West, from South to North, travel in any part of the United States, there you will see what kind of men are the American citizens, sons of pioneers and pioneers themselves. Their general standard is unquestionably superior to the general standard of Europeans. Most peaceful in the pursuits of their ideals, once bent on strife nothing but the ultimate victory will stop them. Any trouble shall be faced squarely. Forbearance is not cowardice. We

incontestably prefer peaceful pursuits to war, but when perils stare us in the face we shall not flinch; then, we shall say again the words that one of the bravest of the American sailors—Farragut—uttered in face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles: "Damn the torpedoes, go ahead"; and so he did.

It is England's highest interest and that of her followers to leave "America for Americans," and the blissful peace and good understanding will last forever.

Si vis pacem, para bellum.

As long as the world is divided into nations and races and the differences between nations and races do not disappear, everlasting peace between these nations and races is impossible. Competition means struggle for existence, which has been and is yet necessary to the evolution of the higher forms of life. Therefore we shall have wars for many centuries to come, and we must be ready to defend ourselves with all means in our power. The mighty battles for the supremacy of the world's markets are not all fought in time of peace. The commercial and political prominence among nations cannot and never will belong to the weak or neglectful nations.

The world's tendency is at present from the sea. The supremacy of the world's markets is the inevitable corollary of the supremacy of the ocean or "sea power" according to the strong expression of captain Mahan, the most distinguished contemporary writer in the world on maritime affairs and history. The importance of sea power is now fully recognized. I quote from "Expansion," by J. Strong: "Whosoever commands

the sea commands the trade ; and whosoever commands the trade commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself." Necessity for naval effectiveness is increased ; naval effectiveness needs skilled seamanship backed by a maritim, national spirit and a powerful, well-manned merchant marine, supported by a first-class efficient navy.

The spirit of the Monarchy is war and agrandizement ; the spirit of the Republic is peace and moderation ; yet, said the ancient Masters of the world : "*Si vis pacem, para bellum.*"

RIOTS, REVOLTS, REVOLUTIONS.

In a giant industrial country like ours, with innumerable shops, mills and factories, with millions of wage-earners, periods of depression are likely to occur from time to time. Economic laws are as compulsory as natural laws.

With the unprecedented inflow of foreigners, the extensive use of labor-saving machinery and progress of inventions, our markets must continue to expand or men will be thrown out of employment as never before. It is by no means reassuring to reflect that so large and almost unrestricted immigration of heterogeneous populations is pouring in the United States. The proportion of foreigners becomes greater and greater so as to impede the rapid americanization of it.

It is a serious menace to our civilization. It goes without saying that the dangerous classes are mosely recruited in it and these classes are swelling more rapidly than hitherto. Our unparalleled prosperity of these last years and the cheapness and facilities of travel have attracted immigrants as never before. The wonder is how such a formidable army of invasion is swallowed up without social convulsion of any sort.

The spring of 1894 witnessed a spectacle that we have abundant reasons to see repeated again, with increased violence and greatly increased destruction in the future, if we pay no attention to the lessons of the past. It was the military-like organization of large bodies of idle men at various points in the country for a march to Washington to make a demand, on the Federal Government, for work. About three millions of men were without work. The march was then considered a good joke, exactly as were the Anarchists before the shooting of President McKinley. But as the regimental bodies, gathered at given points, took up the march on the Nation's capital, getting their living at the expense of the States they were traversing, the movement was regarded more seriously. The great industrial army, as it was then called, made large recruits on his march to Washington and at last massed his forces into a gigantic demonstration in the streets of the capital where they delivered firebrand speeches and threats of bloody revolution. They were boarded gratis and extorted from the Federal Authorities the promise that everything possible would be done for them, and then they marched away.

An extra session of the Congress was called, not to give them work, but to lower again the tariff already so low that the manufacturing industries in the Union could not compete successfully in their home market against foreign products. This gave raise to some more demonstrations and a profound depression prevailed all over the country when McKinley was elected. How by good and clear-sighted legislation he set in motion a prodigious wave of prosperity and made the United States the foremost commercial and manufacturing nation of the world and the richest of them all, is yet present to the mind of all American citizens.

The Chicago Haymarket's carnage and the riots that occurred in some States at the same epoch should open our eyes on the ills that follow a long period of industrial and commercial paralysis.

Unrestricted competition always leads to overproduction. It has now become possible by means of laborsaving machinery and inventions to produce more of the necessities and of the comforts of life than we can consume. Increasing production is by no means an unmixed good. When markets become thoroughly glutted prices and wages fall, and thousands upon thousands of workmen are thrown out of employment. Thus a superabundance may cause under-consumption, because men cannot buy unless they have something to buy with; and wage-earners out of employment face starvation in the midst of plenty. A man is not poor because he possesses no property, but because he is not working, because he has no work to do.

The economic results of a commercial and industrial

paralysis would undoubtedly be attended by social and political disturbances of the gravest character. There is a strong disposition among men, especially among wage-earners to charge most of the ills of their lot to bad government and to seek political remedy for these ills. Men who are long idle, whether that idleness is voluntary or enforced, usually degenerate morally; and if want is added to idleness disastrous results are sure to follow; the army of unemployed and discontented can become a revolutionary army. Hunger obeys no laws. Enforced idleness and hunger always bred Huns and Vandales, even in a land of plenty. If at this point some ambitious, venturesome and energetic leader comes and says to the famished workmen: "You are hungry, here is food; you are poor, there are riches; you are the number, consequently you are the law, take what you need"; then will follow scenes of plunder, of murder and incendiarism. If that leader possess a broad intelligence and succeed in marshaling military-like those hungry and malcontent workmen, revolution or civil war, which cause incalculable destruction and disaster, may result from the long closing of the shops, mills and factories. The possibilities of such disturbances are plainly demonstrated by the history of all the nations on earth.

We have to look to future troubles, against which we must provide with the utmost prudence; for it is by foreseeing difficulties from afar that they are easily provided against. We must strive to avert them in time and never permit their growth merely for the sake of avoiding expenses and troubles. Defer the

solution of a social problem when such solution is needed is not an advantage, for time drives all things before it and may lead more to evil than good. To recognize promptly evils as they arise and apply the proper remedy is one of the rarest gifts of the highest statesmanship.

In depicting the United States, all the foreign economists predict dark fate for the American Republic and generally our own economists emphasize the dangers spoken of by the foreign writers. The ravings of their pessimism and misanthropism cannot stand and resist against the scientific methods of application of the laws underlying the complex evolution of a giant nation, like ours, toward a brilliant future. Whatever may be said of the good or evil disposition of some people, or of some religious or political party is of little consequence if the Government is well prepared to assert and maintain his authority, should they be well disposed, and to defend itself if their disposition be otherwise. To know people merely by books and newspapers is very deceiving, especially concerning the American people. We possess the most intelligent, energetic and law-abiding citizens of the world; we have statesmen of great abilities, of powerful minds and high character. Each opportunity has been seized at the very nick of the time. Our Government stands for the best common interests of the people. In the distribution of wealth, all men are entitled to an equitable share according to his ability, industry and economy. The actual methods which sanction and enforce the distribution of wealth are the best we know

for the general welfare. The wisdom of the methods of government is demonstrated by the general tranquillity and prosperity of the country.

No nation on earth is so generous and so liberal toward her servants and workers in general than the American people; that is conclusively proved by innumerable benevolent institutions. The pension system for disabled workmen and old age is a feature called to become very extensive with the large organizations, whether public or private.

A good step, designed to be extended, has been made when the municipalities or charitable private organizations in the large cities in industrial centers have organized temporary relief works or public kitchens, to tide over the destitute wage-earners out of work during hard times, whether in the winter season or following industrial depression. The Romans, the wisest people on earth, past and present, with their free distributions of grain acknowledged the necessity of such relief so as to lessen the sufferings among the people and prevent his revolt. The wealthy nations need benevolent institutions because the fortune is subject to great many accidents; but when the evil is momentary we then need aid of the same nature and that is applicable to the particular accident.

The crop of political evil-doers, burglars, murderers, highwaymen always very large in countries deprived of benevolent institutions, particularly in the hard winter season and in times of long industrial and commercial depression, lacks of its main stimulus with a good system of benevolent institutions. It is in hard

times that the apostles of murder, incendiarism and plunder make their numerous recruits. Drastic legislation never takes the place of common sense preventive precautions for the security of civil society.

Everywhere in the world, there are men born, like Saturn, to destroy their fellow-creatures. When unrestricted liberty is granted them they are prone to use it to the utmost; then we see the growth of political party, like the Anarchists, who are preaching, far and wide with marvelous maestria, the murder of the earth's rulers as a sacred duty, and incendiarism as a holy rite. This low form of ciceronian intoxication is likely to spread if not treated as the other similar evils. This is a curious epoch where we see the apostles of murder and plunder go free all over the country teach in a plain way their nefarious doctrine, and the poor devils, who profess and attempt practical experience of the new religions or political creed are jailed, hanged or shot.

The creation of a penal colony in some distant island where all the convicts of some ten years of hard labor, old offenders and hardened criminals could be sent would be beneficial to both society and her unworthy members. It would reduce considerably the cost of keeping the convicts, therefore, realize a notable economy for the States, and give the culprits more chance to reform in bending their energy toward the development of the natural resources of the island. Such penal colony would be an immense improvement and a strong step in the direction of higher morality and civilization.

SECTARIANISM.

All the civil organizations have very frequently been in conflict with powerful religious organizations. Terrible and disastrous wars have resulted from it. At all times, history teaches us these religious organizations, chiefly when they were monopolizing a country, have been the most powerful support that could prop a tyranny.

The aim of every religious systems, whatever name they have or take, is invariably the same,—namely, domination.

The Mormon sect offers a striking example how powerful can become a small body of men thoroughly organized and with wealth and strong centralization. The designs of the Mormons are exactly the same as those of any precedent or existing religious sect with ambitious men at their head. Some years ago, the Mormon bishop Lunt gave a conclusive testimony on the aim of their association; he said: "Zion is destined to spread through all the world. Our church has been organized only for fifty years, and yet behold his wealth and power. We look forward with perfect confidence to the day when we will hold the reins of the United States Government. That is our present temporal aim; after that we expect to control the continent." That haughty boast brought forth their undoing.

Similar braggardness carried ruin to the famous and powerful organization of the Jesuits who boasted

that: "One day will come when we shall be the masters of our masters." They were subsequently expelled from all the Roman Catholic countries: Austria, Brazil, France, Italy, Mexico, Spain and other States.

The superiority of the civil societies and the characteristic of all religious organizations proceed from their strong centralization, from their admirably organized hierarchy and perfect training of their officials. However, high centralization is their main spring; it has permitted many of them to outlast the best organized civil societies. High centralization alone enabled the Romanism to fight and resist successfully for centuries his numerous and powerful foes. As the Romanism took its hierarchic system from the old decayed religious sects it replaced, so the innumerable new religious schemes that spring up almost every month model, with very few exceptions, their hierarchic systems on the Romanism's.

Religious organizations are essentially close corporations held together by a carefully adjusted community of selfish interests. Places with good pay and with unusual privileges and no work are powerful factors in sustaining religious organizations. They grow strong with the aid of the greed of the rich and intelligent citizens, skillfully combined with the ignorance and avarice of the poor.

The weakness of all the religious systems, like its strength lies in the unchangeable characteristics of human nature. Its chief link of cohesion is human selfishness and no other tie is so easily broken. It is never disinterested, it is faithful to no sect. Its reli-

gious loyalty is a pretense; its devotion to principles a sham. They are parasite growths, on imperfect social and political conditions, that have already lost greatly of their social importance and will finally disappear in the light of universal intelligence.

The aim of all religious sects is to spread ignorance and prejudice, to inculcate the spirit of submission and slavery to enable them to dominate arbitrarily. The more powerful they become the more hostility they show to the civil and republican institutions. Had we left the Mormons, few years more, to develop and organize their forces we should have had a second civil war.

As no sectarian organization can raise, equip and drill, as of yore, any more armies, their wealth and the ignorance of the people constitute all their strength. It will readily be seen that anything which strikes their wealth diminish their power and sometimes vanish it totally in spite of the actual number of adherents. Although, the law voted by Congress against the Mormon sect, cut off only about a million dollars it brought down their power and influence never to raise again to antagonize seriously our Government. It was a good move, the best next to expulsion to reduce a recalcitrant sect.

The best remedy against fanaticism and all religious evils is the non-sectarian free public school, of which the object is to give the youth up to date knowledge in sciences and letters, principles for right reasoning, spirit of independence with intelligence obedience to the laws and rightful authority.

TRUSTS.

The tremendous industrial development which has taken place during the last thirty years in all civilized countries has given a formidable impetus to the organization of combinations of all kinds formed for the purpose of controlling the output of natural and industrial products; for regulating prices or for adjusting wages. Trusts, monopolies, syndicates, unions, or by whatever other names these combinations may be known, are not peculiar to either the present age or to our country. Trusts are born with the societies. In the study of ancient legislation we find laws dealing with many kinds of combinations. In the eighteenth century, the history records the monstrous fact that kings themselves were at the head of food monopolies, starving their people to keep their numerous mistresses in opulence.

In the United States, commercial and industrial combinations are of comparatively recent origin, but the rapidity with which they have, of late years, been formed, indicates the popularity of a system that exists more or less developed among all the nations. Their stupendous growth in the United States has called forth on them the attention of the people of this country and from abroad. The main cause of the commercial and industrial combinations is to be found, in this country as in others, in business conditions rather than in the tariff, as some of the largest and most monopolistic combinations have no direct tariff protections. Ruinous excessive competition is the chief

cause of the formation of agricultural and manufactured products combinations.

It is not the purpose of the Author to deal lengthily on the combination question in the narrow limits set for this work. To obtain a comprehensive and thorough knowledge of the trusts, monopolies or other combinations in the United States and prominent nations of the world, and guard himself against the superficial and dangerous demagogic denunciations of wealth resulting from the present agitation against the trusts, the Reader is referred to the works published by the Industrial Commission created by the act of the Congress of the eighteenth of June, 1898. These works, on the much disputed and controverted questions involved in the subject of combinations in restraint of trade and competition, comprehend not less than nineteen volumes, and were closed the tenth of February, 1902. They are the most complete and impartial works ever published, in the whole world, on all kinds of combinations. No citizen is entitled to speak sanely and intelligently about trusts and combinations of all kinds without having preably read them carefully. The published works are found in almost all the public libraries.

No countries in the world possess more stringent laws against the trusts and combinations than England and France, and yet there they thrive. The latter country has devised the most draconian penal legislation ever drafted against combinations, but the law is applied very leniently, if not at all, especially outside of the foodstuffs. Everywhere it has been

recognized that the combinations are necessities of the time. There are laws inapplicable; where the law does not answer to the reality of social rapports, law does not make the custom, but the custom does make law. Of course the combinations crushing out all healthy competition, especially those dealing in primary necessities of life such as foodstuffs, must be treated accordingly. Wise regulations and restrictions as set forth in the published works of the Industrial Commission above mentioned, which provide for the strict supervision over corporations of all classes and a rigid system of public accounting will prevent much of the evils and abuses arising from their operations.

Broadly speaking, the large capitalistic combinations of this country greatly lessen the danger of panic and distress created by commercial and industrial crisis resulting from overproduction, and give a greater regularity of employment to workingmen with fair wage. They are the great agency of warfare against the competing capital of foreign countries; they are the most essential instruments by which to gain and keep possession of foreign markets, and in maintaining our manufacturing supremacy over our powerful competitors of across the ocean.

CHAPTER III.

McKINLEY AND ANARCHISTS.

The shooting of President McKinley, and his subsequent death about one year and a half ago, by the anarchist Czolgosz gave a hard shock to the United States and the whole civilized world. The general feeling ran high against the man who committed the dastardly murder and against that supposed new political sect—the Anarchists—who startle the world by the systematic murdering of the earth's rulers. Every country of the world sent in testimony of heartfelt sympathy on that hour of deepest sorrow and trial.

President McKinley was one of the best representative of the American civilization and of American progress. He was a very remarkable man, one of those men who are the honor of humankind. Elected after a long period of depression and stagnation, he restored the tottering credit and the wavering confidence, and by wise measures started the country on a new development of activity, which, widening and extending as it advanced, brought in the most splendid era of industrial growth and commercial expansion the world ever seen.

He made possible for the country to reach the first rank among the nations in industry, in commerce and in wealth. How well, coolly and firmly, he guided

the country through portentous labor trouble and foreign complications; through the Spanish war and Chinese disturbances; from financial weakness to the forefront of the sound money gold-standard countries; how at Buffalo's Exposition, as if it were to be his apotheosis, he traced with an incomparable clearness of vision and breadth of statesmanship a program which was to make the United States the foremost nation on earth.

Over the land and across the continent he went, and his engaging personality and rare powers of oratory won their persuasive way. He had every element of winsomeness, of personal fascination, a subtle and indescribable and irresistible charm of sincerity and suavity that sway and captivate the multitudes.

Some of his speeches are models of inspiration and clearness and simplicity. Depicting our national unity, he said among other things: "We have no North, no South, no East, no West, but all are Americans."

And on principle of good government: "The President and Congress are but the representatives of the public will, and so long as the people are united, so long as their homes are virtuous, so long as the public schools of our country continue to educate the children in the paths of patriotism and loyalty and intelligence and morality, so long will this great Government rest securely and advance triumphantly to its highest destiny."

To wage-earners, he said: "The happiest people in the world are those who are best employed. Work

means wages; wages means contentment and bring to the home opportunities of education."

Speaking to the Delegates of Unions, he declared: "All my public life has been devoted in effort to give the workingmen the best opportunity for good wages and steady employment. When labor is well employed there is contentment and happiness in the houses of the laboring men."

In a reunion of young men, part of President McKinley's advice was: "Young gentlemen, there is no higher duty for the citizen than to be devoted to his country and to its civil institutions, and when these young men and the young men like you from every State and Territory in the Union will stand by the Republic its splendid institutions shall be permanent."

Eulogizing the arts of peace, he said in part: "We know no imperialism in the United States except the imperialism of a sovereign people. Our triumphs are those of a free and self-governing people looking to the development and upbuilding and extension of liberty to the human race."

Such men are uncommon. No wonder that he had the most implicit confidence of his countrymen and received the gentle sympathy and the intelligent respect of millions of his fellow-citizens without distinction of class, party or creed, and was almost worshipped by them. Could such a man, the honor of humankind, be murdered? Nevertheless he was!

The tragedy of Buffalo deprived the laboring classes of one of their best friends; the country lost one man who stood for the best interests of all the

people and for everything that was praiseworthy and progressive in our national life. His lofty character, his devotion to duty, his honesty of purpose and noble virtues remain with us as a priceless legacy and example.

THE ASSASSINS OF RULERS.

From its dawn to our time the history has recorded attacks, more or less successful, of assassins on rulers of every nation on earth. Presidents elected by the will of the people no more than autocratic or constitutional royalties escaped the poniard or bullet of murderers.

It is sad to add, but a deep knowledge of humanity, acquired otherwise than by newspapers and books, leads me to say that these murderous tendencies are to last as long as the world itself; therefore, rulers of every rank and every kind, good or bad, naive or shrewd, shall do well, at all times and at any time, to take the necessary preventive precautions against murderers whether these cover themselves with political or religious cloak or not; or step down into the humbler rank of the mediocrity where there is less danger. Is this general warning to be heard? May be. Said the Italian: "*Passato il pericolo, gabbato il santo.*"

The men who are told or think themselves to be new Brutuses of every kind and every size, or the new Savors of the world, or are willing to buy cheap fame

as the Greek who burned down the famous Ephesa's temple, are legions everywhere in the world, among the learned and underlearned classes of all the people on earth. These legions are likely to grow with the population, with the civilization and with the centuries; taking new religious or political names and fancying new evils as the centuries go by, but exactly and eternally with the same underlaying motives. No country however rich or small is free from them. The danger for organized society grows with the energy and intelligence of the occasional chiefs who push them to the front on the field of battle. To get notoriety or to redress real or imaginary wrong whether they paid it with their life does not matter with them; they know the risks they run, they, willingly, take it.

No legislation, no police measures however drastic will ever be able to root them out or to control them entirely. They are like the hydra of Lerna of which the heads cut off or decayed grow again and again. Any imprudence or any overconfidence of any ruler, forgetting or weakening his safety-line, will invariably be paid with and intended deadly blow from a gun, or a bomb, or a dagger, and often in the most unsuspected way and at the most unsuspected time.

Czolgosz killed President McKinley, not because he was William McKinley, citizen of the United States, but because he was President of the United States; the act was directed against the official, especially because of his high fame as a successful ruler and as a foremost statesman. Had he remained a single obscure citizen, he would not have been singled out.

That President McKinley had been warned of such danger by his intimate friends is evident; but he could not believe such thing possible in the freest of the countries. He had supreme confidence in the people. He repeated again and again that: "The American people were too intelligent and too loyal to their country to do any harm to their chief executive." How he paid dearly for his confidence, all the world knows. Furthermore it is within my personal knowledge that, about three years before President McKinley received his death blow, a clear warning was given at that time, when nothing of the kind was even suspected by anyone of the shrewdest detective of the Union.

I saw President McKinley at the Saint Louis' Exposition, Missouri: I wondered at his confidence in the crowds. There the safety-line was trespassed.

Later I saw him again in San Francisco. Here common sense precautions prevailed. He was going down Market street in a carriage, smiling pleasantly and bowing gently to the immense crowds lined on both sides of the street, and come here from all the West to get a glimpse of the wonderful man who, like a good fairy, brought unparalleled prosperity to the country. The Police of that City, consequently the Civil Administration, as a careful investigation showed me afterwards, is second to none in the United States and one of the best in the whole world. In San Francisco any potentate can feel secure and safe.

A typical fact among hundreds will illustrate well how careless and unsuspecting for their safety are the

men brought in the forefront by the will of their fellow-citizens. Some nine years ago I was in Paris. One evening as I was taking a drink, according to the custom there, with two friends of mine in one of the numerous "café" on the great Boulevards, a person, whom I knew for one of the best inspectors of the detective force of the old French capital, come in and, after usual greetings, sat down with us and ordered a drink of coffee. After telling some news of the day and a chat on the current topics, he added: "I am very sorry that the President—President Carnot—has formally ordered us again to leave him alone and not to follow him anymore; that peremptory order may be his death-warrant." Nobody, I believe, paid any attention to the remark, and each one went his way a moment after. About two months later President Carnot was assassinated at the Lyon's Exposition. In hearing of his stabbing, those words, like lightning, flashed vivid through my mind. Subsequent details demonstrated beyond doubt his excessive confidence in the multitudes.

President Carnot's lofty character and high behavior, on great many sides similar to President McKinley's, had won the love and esteem of his countrymen and consequently was much regretted.

THE ANARCHISTS.

That Anarchy is an imported principle inimical to American institutions, there is no doubt. Patience

is the characteristic of our people in seeking any reform. It is fixed in their habit to wait for the ballot and to submit loyally when their ideas are rejected at the poll. The Anarchists proselytes are all recruited in the flood of foreign population invading the United States.

The Anarchist who is a mere theorist cannot be separated before the act from his murderous brother who carries into effect the theories inculcated to him as he understands them. They have no general standard and no real organization. Their main platform is a simple one, somewhat that of the Beotians of the ancient Greece. Here it is: "Common property, socialistic production and distribution, free love, and perfect individualism; everybody and everything free in a free State." The sweet "Do as you please," of the famous monastery in Rabelais."

As a means to reach their aim, the more violent proclaim the propaganda of the deed in every form, especially put out of the way all the rulers they can lay hands on, as the best way to reach quickly their goal.

Said Most, one of their leaders: "Religion, Authority and State are all carved out of the same piece of wood."

Their credo is: "The Revolutionist is the irreconcilable enemy of the world, and if he continues to live in it, it is only that he may thereby most certainly destroy it. He knows only one science—namely, destruction. For this purpose he studies day and night. For him everything is moral which favors

the triumph of the revolution, everything is immoral and criminal which hinders it. Day and night he cherish only one thought: only one purpose—namely inexorable destruction. While he pursues this purpose, without rest and in cold blood, he must be ready to die, and equally ready to kill everyone with his own hands who hinders him in the attainment of this purpose."

Said an Anarchist orator in a speech delivered in Cooper Union, New York City, some years ago: "I look forward with great deal of joy and satisfaction in the hope that ere long the scenes that were enacted in Paris will be enacted in New York, and the streets of New York will be covered with dead bodies, and the gutters will flow with blood and the houses will be a burning mass."

These red-hot utterances doubtless have some causes relatively easy to find out. The permanent remedy is out of the reach of any man, however powerful he is at our present time as well as in the centuries to come. Darwin has given out the plain reasons.

To define closely and substantiate in a few words the anarchistic doctrine as well as that of any other religious or political party, past, present, future, in their infant days, without any exception whatever, is the man poor and lean and hungry saying to his fat and rich brother, sat in front of a table with a good smelling dinner on, including champagne: "Get out there, you. . . ! that I may have the place."

As you see, the best remedy to the glaring and noisy evil is clear and near at hand, and yet. . . so far.

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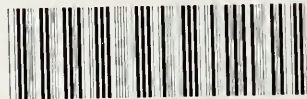
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